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NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

[1]This work was accomplished through the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

[2]The principal informants used were as follows:

Lakes: James Bernard. Bernard was half Lakes, half Chinese, but had lived all his life with the Lakes. In 1931 he was perhaps eighty years old, the best informed and oldest surviving member of his group. He spoke English but very brokenly. From early in the present century until his death in 1934 he was chief of the few surviving members of the Lakes.

Kalispel: Bob Sherwood, a well educated, intelligent and affable Kalispel half-breed of middle age. Sherwood speaks both Kalispel and English fluently. He now lives near Usk, Washington.

Coeur d'Alene: Antelope, a middle-aged native who speaks some English but was never much influenced by whites. Information that he furnished was given with first-hand certainty. In 1934 Antelope lived near Worley, Idaho.

Spokane groups: Thomas Garry, an Upper Spokane aged about seventy-five years. His son and granddaughter served as interpreters. All are now resident near Gerome, Washington.

Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville: Bob Covington, John Tom, William Burke. Information concerning these informants will be found in the preface to Verne F.

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101 173 175 abandoned as the result of white encroachment as early as 1880 but major displacements did not occur until after the turn of the century. Indeed, it was not until 1858 that the region was open to settlement by whites, and the railroad did not appear until 1883. In the words of George W. Fuller, "Annual emigrations [of whites] streamed across the interior [of Washington], seeing no reason to tarry in a seemingly arid and inhospitable land. As late as 1856, General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, insisted that the Inland Empire was a natural Indian reservation and fit for nothing else[!]. It was to the interest of the first whites in the interior,—the fur traders,—that settlers be kept out. Just as the Walla Walla valley was being settled, an Indian uprising brought troops upon the stage, and General Wool closed the interior to Whites. Its occupation was delayed a dozen years, and the lockout might have lasted a long time if gold had not been discovered."[3]

Thus the Indian villages, which for the most part were off the routes used by the migrating whites, remained largely unmolested until well into the lifetimes of many living natives.

115 Ray, "Sanpöil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. (Seattle, 1932), V, 1-237.

Chelan: The Wapato family, three brothers in the forties and fifties and their father. These intelligent informants, one of whom attended the University of Washington law school, furnished the information here given. All live near Manson, Washington.

Kittitas, Wenatchi: Sam Armstrong, aged about sixty years. Armstrong, an intelligent informant speaking good English, is of Wenatchi nativity but has spent much of his life with the Kittitas. He now lives near Harrah, Washington.

Yakima: Alek McCoy, an aged, infirm and blind, but mentally alert informant speaking no English. His son acted as interpreter. McCoy lived near Toppenish, Washington.

Klikitat: Lucy Quaempts, near eighty years of age. Mrs Quaempts does not speak English: her daughter served as interpreter. She is the sister of Joe Hunt who furnished many of the texts in Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I" in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1929), II, 175-244; and Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," in *Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology* (New York, 1934), XIX, pt. 1. (Attention is called to the geographic texts in the latter volume, pp. 234-236.)

Umatilla: Allen Padawa, a middle-aged, full blood with a fair command of English. In addition to the material here presented, Padawa furnished a number of ethnologic texts as part of the author's work with the Umatilla under a commission from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. Padawa lived near Mission, Oregon, in 1932.

Cayuse: Gilbert Minthorn, about fifty years of age in 1930, was part Cayuse on his mother's side. The band names and locations were obtained by Dr. Jacobs in 1930, incidental to the work of the field linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Morris Swadesh initiated the recording. These meager Cayuse data are more valuable than might be apparent, since the Cayuse culture, especially the language, is almost completely lost at this time.

[3] G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), preface, vi.

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The picture drawn here, then, will refer strictly to aboriginal conditions as they existed around 1850. Where information furnished referred to a somewhat later period it may safely be assumed that little movement had occurred during the intervening period.

It is of especial importance that this date be emphasized with regard to the data here presented for the territorial distribution may have been very different a hundred years earlier, due to native movements uninfluenced by direct contact with whites.[4]

Such static limitation is set upon this paper for several reasons. Most important is the notorious unreliability of native verbal traditions when they refer to history a few generations or more removed.[5] Such data, through weighting, balancing, and comparing, may prove of value for a theoretical discussion or a hypothetical reconstruction[6] but is of little worth for a purely factual paper. Secondly, though a tremendous bulk of material bearing on the subjects under consideration is available from the records of early explorers, traders, and missionaries, it is of little use for supplementing field data gathered today because of the temporal discrepancy. Moreover, such early records are of unequal reliability and often are extremely vague in defining areas and identifying locations. Also, some records are relatively full while others contain but occasional references pertinent to a study of territorial distributions. But perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the variations in recording native place and group names. It is

[4]James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish (ed. by Franz Boas," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1928), II, 83-128, considers at some length the possibility of a northward movement of Sahaptin-speaking peoples (Klikitat, Yakima?) from their postulated former habitat south of the Columbia river, carrying them into southern Washington and displacing the Salish-speaking peoples presumed to have occupied the area formerly.

I can not concur in the positive judgements drawn by Teit. Though some of the material in the present paper might be used in support of such a theory (e.g., Salish names for Kittitas villages nos. 10 and 11), yet my contact with these peoples has led me to become more and more skeptical of Teit's conclusions. I hope to pursue this particular problem further and present the evidence, with whatever conclusions may appear justified, in a future paper.

[5]Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History," in *American Anthropologist* n.s., XVII, 597.

[6]See Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 358-65; and Joel V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," thesis, University of Oregon, 1933.

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101 very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise
173 be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[7]

121 Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to
173 handle separately data from field research and from historical
175 sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

131 The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

133 Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[7]Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

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its main channel. These dry canyons, particularly characteristic of the northern part of the province, are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend". In the southern half, beyond the extent of the glaciers, the lava plateau has been eroded gradually by such rivers as the Deschutes, John Day, Umatilla, and Yakima, leaving gently rounded hills of considerable altitude above the val-

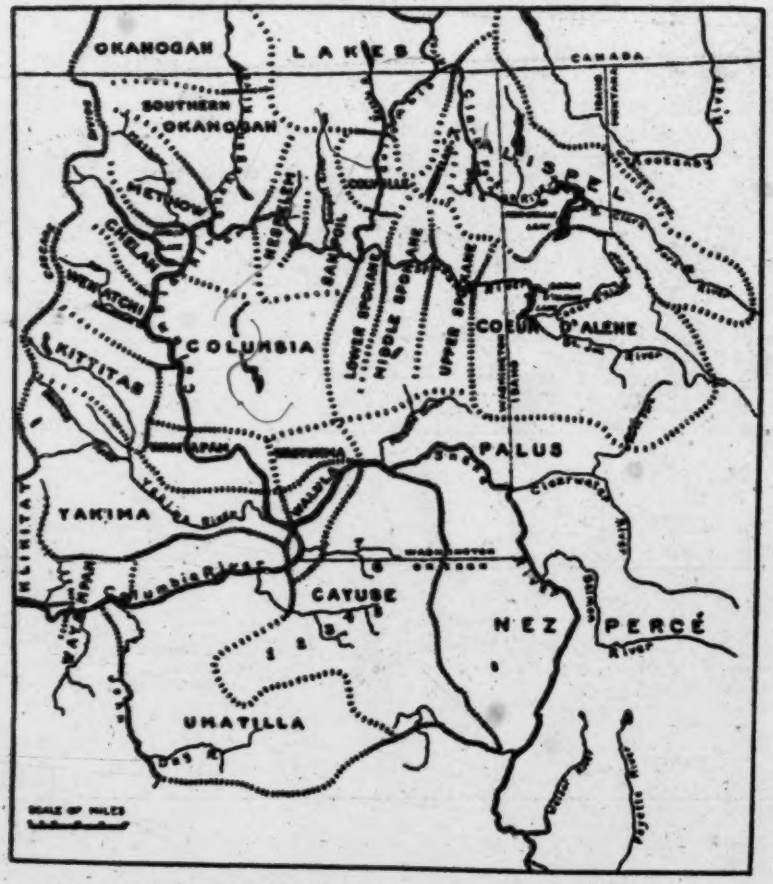

Figure 1. Native territorial distribution in the northern Plateau about 1850. (The numbers, indicating native villages and bands, are supplementary to the detailed maps following. See text.)

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ley floors. Eolian hills are common in this southern region as well, since the fine dry soil is easily carried by the strong constantly blowing winds. Also, the topography of the whole Columbia Basin has been modified further by minor uplifts since the lava was laid down.

The Okanogan Highlands in the northwestern portion of the area and the Selkirk range in the northeast are spurs of the Rocky mountains consisting largely of granitic and metamorphic formations. The mountains of the Highlands, 5000 and 6000 feet in elevation, have been gently rounded by glacial action and subsequent erosion. The Selkirks, which reach somewhat greater heights, are considerably more rugged and the valleys are narrower.

The Blue mountains in northeastern Oregon are composed chiefly of basalt with islands of older granite projecting. These granitic islands or steptoes are also found in southeastern Washington. The maximum elevation in the Blue mountains is about 6,000 feet.[8]

Meteorological data pertaining to the Basin is given in accompanying table (tab. 1).[9] It will be seen that great yearly temperature ranges together with low precipitation characterize the central or relatively low lying portion of the area, whereas the peripheral regions of greater altitude show a somewhat smaller temperature range and markedly greater precipitation. The geographical center of the area is hardly two hundred and fifty miles from the Pacific Ocean with its temperate moisture-laden winds but the Cascade mountains prove so effectual a barrier that the interior is little influenced. What little moisture is carried east of the Cascade divide is precipitated mostly on the eastern slope of the mountains. Thus the Kittitas villages on the upper Yakima river were subject to a yearly precipitation of about twenty-five inches whereas Wanapam villages near the mouth of the same river enjoyed but

[8] Edwin J. Saunders, "The Physical Geography of Washington," in *Journal of Geography*, XIV, 309-22; Nevin M. Fenneman, *Physiography of Western United States* (New York, 1931), 210-70.

[9] Information furnished by courtesy of Dr. Albert L. Seeman, Department of Geography, University of Washington.

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TABLE 1.

METEOROLOGICAL DATA FOR TYPICAL STATIONS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

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Territory	Station	Mean Monthly Temperature		Precipitation		
				Normal Monthly		Normal Annual
		July	Jan.	Nov.	Aug.	
Lakes	Revelstoke, B.C.	64	21	4.8	.6	40
Lakes	Northport, Wash.	68	23	2.3	.9	18
Lakes&Colville	Colville, Wash.	67	23	2.3	.7	16.5
Kalispel	Sandpoint, Id.	65	26	4.3	1.2	27.5
Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene, Id.	68	28	3.4	.6	25
Spokane	Spokane, Wash.	69	28	2.1	.6	16.5
Colville, Sanpoil, Lakes	Republic, Wash.	65	21	1.6	.9	15
Nespelem	Nespelem, Wash.	68	21	1.6	.5	15.5
Sanpoil	Wilbur, Wash.	66	22	1.8	.6	12.5
So. Okanogan	Omak, Wash.	74	22	1.4	.5	10.5
Chelan	Lakeside, Wash.	74	24	1.7	.3	12.5
Wenatchi	Wenatchee, Wash.	71	25	1.2	.3	9
Wenatchi	Leavenworth, Wn.	69	23	2.9	.4	20
Kittitas	Cle Elum, Wash.	65	26	4.7	.4	25.5
Kittitas	Ellensburg, Wash.	68	25	1.5	.2	9
Yakima	Rimrock, Wash.	64	26	4.2	.4	24.5
Yakima	Yakima, Wash.	71	27	.9	.2	8
Wanapam	Wahluke, Wash.	77	29	1	.3	6.5
Columbia	Ephrata, Wash.	77	25	1	.4	7.5
Palus	Hatton, Wash.	73	27	1.3	.4	9
Cayuse	Walla Walla, Wn.	74	33	2	.5	17
Umatilla	Umatilla, Ore.	75	33	1.2	.3	7.5

one-fourth that amount. Indeed within the confines of the Kittitas alone, at Ellensburg, twenty miles down-river from Cle Elum, the precipitation has dropped to less than ten inches. In Lakes territory extremes of forty inches at Revelstoke, B. C. (village no. 24) and sixteen and one-half inches at Colville, Washington (near villages nos. 1-4, 43) are found. In contrast to these variations is the relatively uniform annual precipitation of twenty-four to twenty-eight inches throughout most of the territory of the Coeur d'Alene and the Kalispel. A few Coeur d'Alene villages near Spokane received but fifteen inches. More striking is the meager six to fourteen inches noted throughout most of the territory of the Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Chelan, Columbia, Wanapam, Walula, Palus, Umatilla and Cayuse. A considerable amount of this precipitation falls in the form of snow which usually remains on the ground throughout the winter. Precipitation of

132 ten inches or less may be classed as definitely arid, making for desert conditions.

Temperatures throughout the Columbia Basin are much more uniform, month for month, than precipitation. Characterizing the whole area, however, are extreme ranges from summer maximums to winter minimums. "The average annual range is between 40 and 50 degrees F. with winter temperatures about 20 to 30 degrees F. and summer temperatures from 65 to 80 degrees F. The extreme range for any one station is 140 degrees F. but temperatures as low as -36 degrees F. and as high as 115 degrees F. have been recorded at different stations. Temperatures as low as -20 degrees F. and as high as 100 degrees F. are common, but the cold and warm spells are of short duration and are not felt as much as the figures might indicate on account of the low humidity of the air."[10]

137 Four plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran, the Arid Transition, the Canadian and the Hudsonian, are represented in this area. Of these the first two are by far the most extensive and nearly all native villages were located in these zones. Hunting and gathering territories, however, extended into the Canadian and Hudsonian especially in peripheral regions. The Upper Sonoran is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau, while the Arid Transition characterizes the lower reaches of the surrounding mountains. Higher in the mountains is found the Canadian zone and more rarely the Hudsonian. The most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran in this region is the sagebrush *(Artemisia tridentata)*. Other prominent plants include rabbit brush *(Chrysothamnus nauseosus)*, antelope brush *(Purshia tridentata)* and dragon sagewort *(Artemisia dracunculus)*. The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass *(Agropyron spicatum)* and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine *(Pinus ponderosa)* forests. The bunchgrass prairies occupy narrow marginal strips near the mountains and shade into the pine forests as soon as the elevation becomes noticeable. The Cana-

[10]Saunders, 321.

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dian zone is marked by the presence of the Engelmann spruce *(Picea engelmanni)* and the western larch *(Larix occidentalis)*. In the Hudsonian, highest of timbered plant zones, may be seen the white bark pine *(Pinus albicaulis)* and the subalpine fir *(Abies lasiocarpa)*."

III.

The linguistic stocks represented among the Columbia Basin groups here considered are Salish and Sahaptin. The term Interior Salish is applied to the division of the former lying east of the Cascade mountains. Roughly the northern half of the Basin is occupied by Salish-speaking peoples while the southern half is Sahaptin in speech. Specifically the Salish include the Lakes, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokanes, Colville, Chewelah, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Methow, Chelan, Wenatchi and Columbia. The Sahaptin are represented by the Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Wayampam, Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, Wanapam, Wauyukma, Palus and the adjacent Nez Perce. It was formerly thought that Cayuse, together with Molale in and west of the Oregon Cascades, represented a distinct linguistic stock, the so-called Waiilatpuan. Dr. Melville Jacobs recently has shown this to be merely a widely divergent dialect of Sahaptin.[12]

Interior Salish has been studied systematically only by Dr. Gladys Reichard, whose work is not yet available, but native classifications serve to indicate the major subgroups. Dialects within each of these subgroups are mutually intelligible but are unintelligible to other groups. Comprising one group are the Lakes, Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem and Southern Okanogan; another, the Columbia, Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi; a third, the Chewelah, Kalispel, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; and a fourth, the Coeur d'Alene.

[11] Charles V. Piper, "Flora of the State of Washington," in *Contributions from the U.S. Herbarium* (Washington, 1906), XI, 33-72.

[12] Melville Jacobs, "A Sketch of Northern Sahaptin Grammar," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1931), IV, 93-96.

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The two subgroups of Sahaptin which are of concern here are Northern Sahaptin and Molale-Cayuse. The former includes all dialects spoken by Columbia Basin groups with the exception of Cayuse. It should be mentioned that the neighboring Nez Perce constitutes a third division, unintelligible to either of the others but less divergent from Northern Sahaptin than Molale-Cayuse. Northern Sahaptin in turn may be divided into Northwest Sahaptin dialects and Umatilla reservation dialects. "Among northwest Sahaptins [Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam, Wanapam] a few immaterial phonetic changes and morphologic specializations that sound amusing but never unintelligible to the speaker of an adjacent band, and some scores or hundreds of unimportant vocabulary and idiomatic details are all that make for provincialism or dialect boundaries. . . . The Umatilla, Walula and Palus provincialisms spoken on the Umatilla reservation of northern Oregon constitute a dialect intelligible to all the northwest Sahaptins and like the latter differ with one another in minor morphologic and vocabulary detail. Northwest Sahaptin and Umatilla reservation dialects have a number of interesting morphologic and phonetic points of difference in spite of mutual intelligibility."[13]

IV.

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Cultural subdivisions may not be indicated with the finesse possible for dialect groups. Yet several units stand out with relative clarity. They may be designated as follows: (a) the Lakes; (b) the Central Interior Salish, including Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan and Columbia; (c) the Cascade Interior Salish, namely the Methow, Chelan and Wenatchi; (d) the Northeastern Interior Salish, including the Kalispel, Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; (e) the Northwestern Sahaptins, including the Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam and Wanapam; and (f) the Northeastern Sahaptins, comprising the Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse.

[13] *Ibid.*, 96.

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This classification of cultural subareas must be regarded as highly tentative. For a great part of the Basin no studies by trained investigators have been made. Indeed, it is simpler to cite the detailed researches than to indicate the relatively unknown regions. All of the northern Interior Salish have been reported by James A. Teit but each group has been treated very briefly with the exception of Coeur d'Alene.[14] The Sanpoil and Nespelem have been studied more fully by the author.[15] Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Edward Sapir worked with the Wishram[16] of the Columbia river near The Dalles; their findings throw some light upon the adjacent Klikitat and Wayampam. This meager list exhausts the published data. The results of work with the Southern Okanogan by a number of students, under Dr. Spier's direction, will appear in the near future. Researches with the Lakes and the Umatilla are under way by the author.

It is markedly apparent that much further work is required before other than an hypothetical characterization of the Columbia Basin will be possible. With caution, however, a few remarks may be made to assist the reader in picturing the area and in explanation of the divisions suggested. It may be assumed with relative safety that the Central Interior Salish represent the oldest stratum of Basin culture. Though this culture may at one time have been spread over a much wider area, prewhite cultural influences and historical factors resulted in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island. One of the greatest of these historical factors was the coming of the horse. Speaking generally, the Salish groups were much less affected by its advent, and the typical Plains traits which travelled with it, than were the Sahaptins. Except in a few superficial aspects of life the Central Interior Salish, barring the Columbia, remained

[14] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish": James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (ed. by Franz Boas)" in *Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1930), XLV, 23-396.

[15] Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

[16] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1930), III, 151-300.

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unchanged. The latter group, lying adjacent to Sahaptin peoples, took over the horse and its accoutrements with avidity but had not, even after 1850, lost its cultural identity through submersion by the whole complex of Plains traits.

The Northeastern Interior Salish was the unit of Salish most influenced by the horse culture complex. A further partial basis for their cultural differentiation lay in the characteristics of their habitat. The western boundaries of these groups roughly coincided with the line of transition from desert to upland country, while eastern boundaries fell well into the Rocky Mountains. Among many resultant cultural differences was the absence of salmon as the economic staple together with all associated traits. (Bear in mind that no such environmentally based difference existed between the Sanpoil and the Umatilla, for example.) The environmental factor played an even greater role in the culture of the Lakes. Their territory, extending far into the Canadian Rockies, consisted largely of long mountain ranges enclosing narrow valleys with precipitous sides. Navigable rivers and lakes lay within each of these interconnected valleys making canoe transportation highly feasible but any other type of travel scarcely possible. Horses of course were never accepted. Obviously the life led in such a habitat differed greatly from that of the desert-dwelling peoples to the south. The very fact that in spite of these environmental differences the Lakes maintained many typical Basin traits demands that culturally they be considered essentially Basin peoples.

The principal traits upon which the Cascade Interior Salish are separately classed are the same ones which link them with their Coast Salish neighbors. Thus normal trans-mountain intercourse easily accounts for the identity of this unit.

Turning to the Sahaptin subdivisions we find both to be characterized by a deep veneer of Plains traits setting them apart from the Salish much more distinctly than from each other. However, the Northeastern Sahaptins have been longer and more intimately in contact with Plains peoples (or those with long established Plains traits, as the Nez Perce) than the

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northwestern group. This is shown in the culture of the Northeastern Sahaptins by a marked emphasis upon certain peculiarly Plains customs such as that of "counting coups."[17] Thus chieftainship depended almost wholly upon prowess in warfare; indeed social prestige generally was reckoned in like terms.

This degree of emphasis upon Plains values seems never to have been reached among Northwestern Sahaptins though their acceptance of Plains material traits was equally great. Even the latter may not be as deeply imbedded as is apparent on the surface. In support of this view is the recent discovery of a Wanapam village near Priest Rapids on the Columbia river (Wanapam village no. 2) where hardly a trace of white influence is to be seen, but more surprisingly, even less evidence of Plains influence.[18] In all visible respects this village pictures Central Interior Salish conditions of 1850 or earlier. Thus the individuality of Sahaptin subareas is to be judged in terms of depth and integration of Plains overlay, a difference in degree, not in kind.

V.

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Perhaps no aspect of Columbia Basin culture presents more fascinating and yet difficult problems than that of political organization. One of the most valuable results of a survey of native villages and territories is a partial clarification of some of these problems. Wide variations in the scope of the political unit stand out with particular force, though accurate analysis is greatly hampered by present day confusions with linguistic units, arbitrary Indian service administration units, and reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation.[19] But one point is clear: the tribe in any literal sense is absent from a great part of the Basin. In consequence the term tribe has been avoided throughout this paper as a designation for

[17] An explanation of this custom will be found in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., "Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), XXX, pt. 1, 354.

[18] This village was found during search for material for the present paper.

[19] Thus all of the natives now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation, with the exception of the Nez Percé, speak of themselves as "Colvilles" though they belong to many divergent groups.

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619 any group where definite indications of true tribal organization are absent. If the *concept* of tribe is to retain any significance whatsoever it must not be stripped of its basic implication of political unity. Yet *political* affiliation of any kind between one and another village of many of the *social* and *geographical* units here treated was entirely lacking. In other words, the political unit was the village itself, any political entity of greater embrace being wholly unknown.[20] Villages, under this type of organization, are not called tribes here, for to do so would not only violate customary usage but would merely involve substitution of a relatively ambiguous term for a very specific and satisfactory one.[21]

361 619 This condition of village autonomy did not obtain in all parts of the Columbia Basin in 1850 or subsequently. Indeed it would be difficult in the light of present knowledge to circumscribe the area where such organization was to be found at the time of white advent. It existed to a marked degree among most of the Central Interior Salish and in a somewhat modified or transitional form among adjacent peoples. Those groups, on the other hand, with the most characterictic tribal organization were the same ones that had most extensively accepted Plains culture. The obvious implication, that village autonomy at one time was characteristic of the whole Basin, would be difficult to prove with finality at the present moment. Yet it is of interest to note that this type of political organization is not by any means restricted to the Columbia Basin but recurs in many parts of the Pacific slope. It has been noted particularly in California where in some parts the tendency toward dissociation is carried to even greater extremes. Dr. A. L. Kroeber states that, "Tribes did not exist in California in the sense in which the word is properly applicable to the greater part of the North American Continent. . . . The extreme of political anarchy is found in the northwest [of California], where there is scarcely a tendency to group towns

[20] Cf. Ray, 9, 109-10.

[21] The point here is not a linguistic one. There can be no objection to an aberrant use of a *term*, if clearly defined and consistently applied, unless there be danger of a consequent confusion of *concept*, which in this case seems inevitable to me.

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into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[22] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[23] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[24] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[25] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

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East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[26] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

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[22] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.
[23] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.
[24] *Ibid.*, 309.
[25] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.
[26] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

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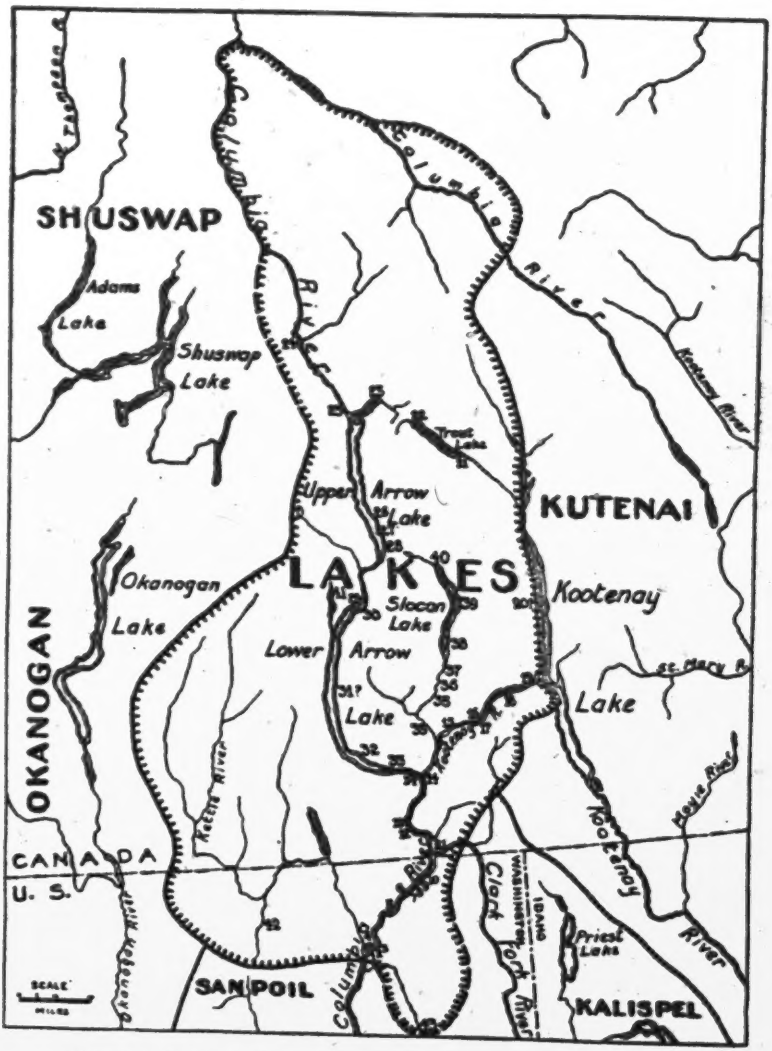

Figure 2. Lakes territory and villages. See text for village names.

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idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[37] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[38] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[39] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[40] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[37] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[38] See map, fig. 2.
[39] Kroeber, 14.
[40] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

103 619 we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these 186 197 619 social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

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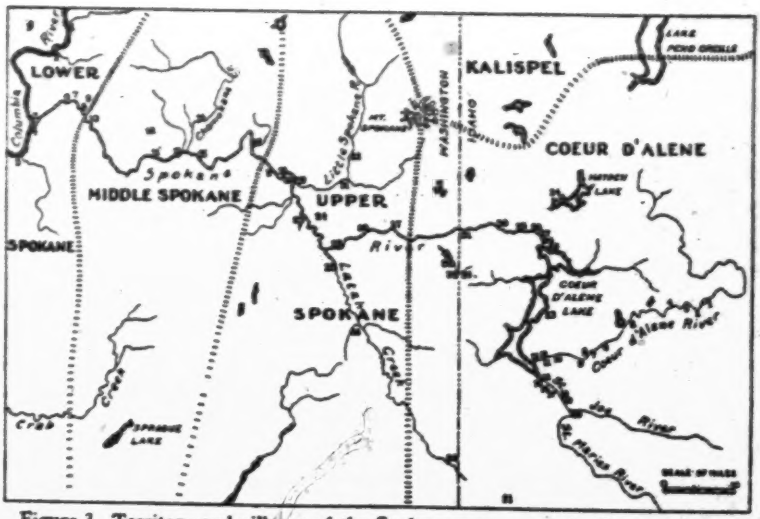

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[31] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[32]

591 619 Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[31] See section VII.
[32] Personal conversation.

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relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[33] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[33]This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

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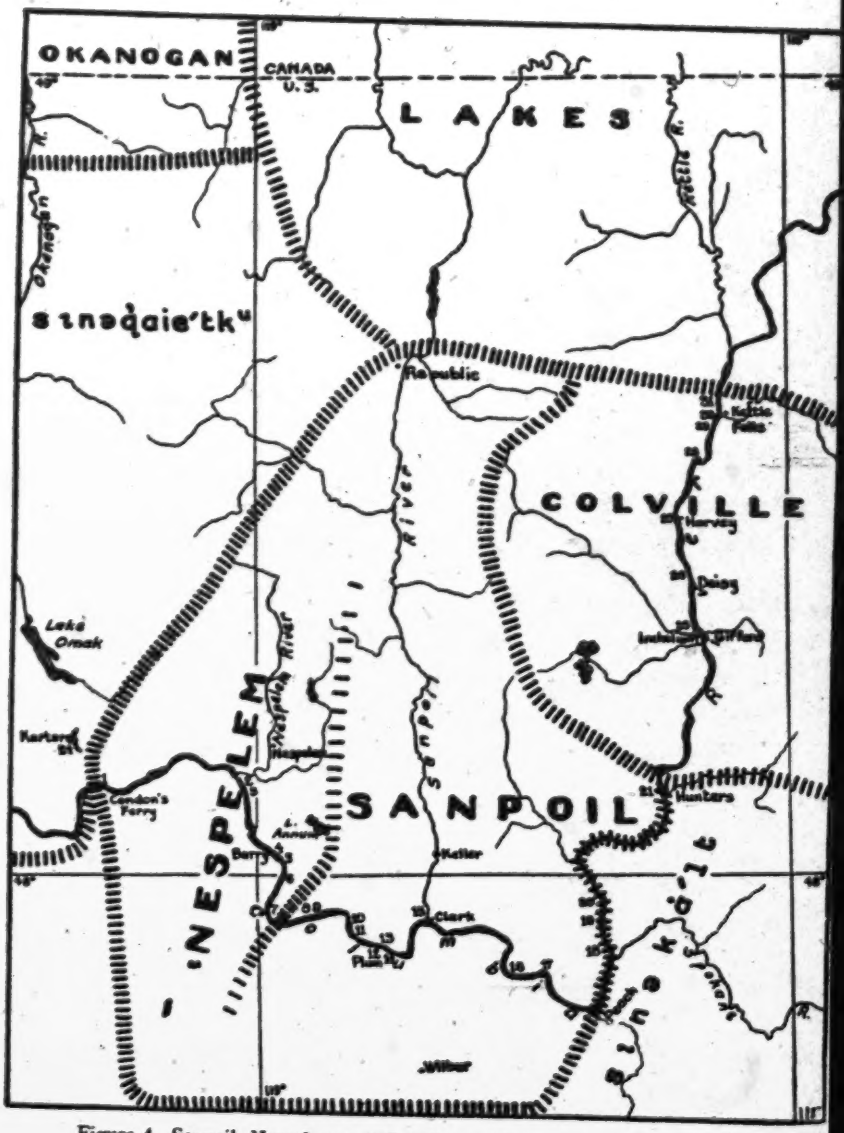

Figure 4. Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville territories and villages. Figures refer to village names in text.

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The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

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609 619 sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

103 The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[34] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[35] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

101 Following are notes relating to specific groups:

487 Lakes: Also called Lake,[36] Senijextee, etc.[37] Native name, sna'itck stk[38] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[34]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[35]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[36]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[37]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

194 [38]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; *a* with superscript period as in English *ask;* turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end;* Greek omega

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canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqálıspi'ləm (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, słate 'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: snəkä'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqäsi'tni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *l; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tł', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

101 "Upper Spokan" for those of the Little Spokane river valley and eastward.[43] These are unfortunate confusions; local usage in no way conforms. The Middle Spokane are the peoples of the middle Spokane river country and the Upper Spokane are those of the upper Spokane river country, the territories in each case extending for considerable distances both north and south of the river. Thus "upper" refers to upriver, not "upper" in the sense of north on our maps or somewhat higher in altitude. Teit's alternative terms of "Little Spokan" for the Little Spokane river valley peoples and "South Spokan" for those of the Latah valley are not objectionable except that they suggest a greater demarcation between these groups than existed.

Upper Spokane: snxwəmɛ'ne, "people of steelhead trout place" (from village name, nxwəmɛ'ne, village no. 20). See map, fig. 3. See Middle Spokane.

Nespelem: snspi·'lux^{u}, "prairie people, Nespelem people" (from village name, nspi·'ləm, no. 2). See map, fig. 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Sanpoil: snpui·'lux^{u}, "people of the gray country" (from village name, npui·'lux^{u}, no. 15). See map, fig. 4. See Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Southern Okanogan: also called the Sinkaietk; snəq'aie'tk^{u}, (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. The southern boundary of this group is the least definite. A partial explanation is that the country south of the portion of the Columbia river on which Southern Okanogan villages were located is a vast desert waste, virtually unclaimed. More complete and definite information on boundaries and villages of this group will be available with the publication of Miss Velpha Walters' work (see footnote 34).

Colville: sxoie'ɬp^{u} (group name). See maps, figs. 1, 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," and Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

101 622 Chelan: tcɪtlă'n (group name). See map, fig. 5. The Chelan mixed freely with the Wenatchi, sharing at least one village (Chelan no. 1, Wenatchi no. 5) and using the upper Wenatchee river for salmon fishing. Informants declared, however, that one Chelan chief held more or less power over all Chelan villages.

101 Wenatchi: wɪnă'ca, "waters (large stream) flowing out" (Sahaptin word), npskwa'us (Salish [Wenatchi] name; group name?). See map, fig. 5.

101

Columbia: nkɔ'eu's (group name). See map, figs. 1, 5. For further information consult Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish."

Kittitas: also called Ellensburg; pcwa'nwapam, "rock people" (from dialect name). See map, fig. 5.

Yakima: ya'kamə, "pregnant ones" (group name ?). See map, fig. 5.

Klikitat: x̣wa'l̓x̣waipam (group name from dialect name, "Klikitat-speaking people"). See map, fig. 5. The word Klikitat is derived from a village name, xla'tixat, no. 1. The Klikitat shared hunting and gathering territories with the Wishram, White Salmon and Wayampam peoples who lived immediately south of them on the Columbia river. Klikitat territory on the west extended to the headwaters of the Lewis river.

Wayampam: waya'mpam (group name from dialect [?] name). See map, fig. 5. The Wayampam southern boundary is not yet known with any certainty.

Umatilla: yumati'la (from village name, i'matɬam, "lots of rocks," no. 1). See maps, figs. 1, 5. The highly irregular boundary was a concession to geographical conditions which would be quite apparent in a relief map. There seems to have been a greater concentration of population around one point among the Umatilla than anywhere else in the Columbia Basin, area for area.

Wanapam: wa'napam (from dialect name ?). See map, fig. 5. Teit assigns the Priest Rapids region to the Columbia[42] but the Wanapam now living there claim always to have held it. The actual boundaries, however, are still very much in doubt.

Wauyukma: wauyuk'ma', "old salmon trap [mythological reference]" (village name). This probably was but a single village together with its hunting and gathering territory.

Cayuse: waie·ɬtpu (group name from dialect name ?). See map, fig. 1.

Walula: also called Walla Walla; walu'la (group name). See map, fig. 1.

Palus: palu·'s (group name). See map, fig. 1. The eastern boundary of the Palus is not yet known.

[42]Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 73.

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LAKES VILLAGES

103 1. npəpkolá't'skin ("place where many pəpkolit's [a species of bull head, *Ameiurus* sp.?] are found").

This was the lowermost Lakes village on the Columbia river, located about two miles below the present town of Marcus. It was a relatively small settlement, usually numbering about seven to ten [524] camps. Though more populous in winter than in summer it was well occupied until late in the spring. It was the site of the shinny grounds where games between the Colvilles and the Lakes were played, and was a popular meeting place for Colvilles, Lakes, and Kalispels. It served as a base for camas gathering in the nearby Selkirk mountains.

[438] After the establishment of the Hudson Bay post about three-quarters of a mile upriver this village increased in size and became the center of considerable trading.

2. kɪxkɪ'us ("open place in a cottonwood grove").

This village was located about one mile below Marcus where the Dobson ferry formerly crossed. The site was below the high water line of the Columbia river and had to be evacuated before the rise of the water in the spring.

It was the largest winter village of the Lakes with an average population of about 200. As a trading center during the days of the Hudson Bay post it was even more popular than npəpkolá't'skɪn (1).

3. nt'sɪlt'sɪli'tk[48] ("trees in the water").

This settlement was at the present site of Marcus. (E)[48]

4. ɪtstlɪktst'cɪn ("large grove of cottonwood [?] trees near the river").

This village was located directly across the river from Marcus on the first bench above the river. Occupation here extended from December to February, with a population of about 150. Four or five families usually remained throughout the summer.

5. sɪntkɪlxuwe'ltɪn ("at the foot of the hill").

This was a hunting camp on the north side of the Columbia river directly opposite the present town of Bossburg. It was occupied as a base for deer hunting during February. From here a trail led into the hills to the north.

6. tlitlko's ("basin in the river bench").

This camp, located between Bossburg and Northport was occupied during March as a base for root digging.

[48]Information followed by (E) was furnished by Mr. William Elmendorf, graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Washington.

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7. stce'xalak[x]. 103
On the Columbia below Northport. (T no. 22)[44]

8. ntsatserri'sem.[45]
At or very near Northport. (T no. 21)

9. sanqi'lt ("above country," "on an elevation").
A settlement at the present site of Northport; formerly the home of the Lakes chief. (E)

10. sn'akewi'lten ("portage").
An encampment at Northport. (E)

11. nquli'la'.
This village, located on the Columbia river about a mile above the present village of Waneta, numbered four or five families throughout the year. The berry fields and salmon grounds of Northport were conveniently near at hand.

12. tcalxi·'t'sa.
This camp was located on the west side of the Columbia river at the site of the present town of Trail. Hunters used the site for a few days at a time as a base for deer hunting.

13. snskakale'um.
At a creek on the west side of the Columbia river close to Trail. (T no. 10)

14. kupi'tlks ("rubbing the chest"). 103 524
This was a settlement at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia rivers, used as a temporary base for root digging. Travelers coming or going from the Kootenay or upper Columbia river valleys usually camped here for a week or two, visiting and gambling with friends and using the sweat houses. To a limited extent it also served as a hunting base.

15. ntukuli'tk[x] ("much river food"). 103
This encampment was on the north side of the Kootenay river about a mile above the mouth of the Slocan (slo'kan) river. Trout pools were numerous in the river at this point making it a popular fishing center. Women used the site as a base for berry picking while men found it convenient for hunting bear. Parties usually stayed

[44]This, and following references in similar form, are to be read as Teit, "Salishan Tribes," village no. 22 of the group under consideration.

[45]Teit, Reichard and Elmendorf have all recorded the *r* sound in Interior Salish, yet it probably is not present. It much more likely is the voiced velar spirant represented in the transcription as Greek gamma with subscript period. The gamma is used here without the period because of printing limitations.

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here a week or ten days often during April just before the river began to rise. Later they moved to the north for caribou hunting, some travelling Slocan river route, some choosing the Kootenay river.

16. nx̣a·x̣a'tsɑn ("cave in the rocks").

This camp was the Kootenay river, opposite Nelson, at the edge of the caribou hunting area. Line fishing for trout was also profitable here.

17. k'iyá'mlupª (Kutenai word?).

A settlement at the site of the present town of Nelson.

18. yakskukani" ("where many kukeni" [a small red fish] are found").

Located about six or seven miles above Nelson on the Kootenay river. Root gathering, bear and caribou hunting and trout fishing were all profitable.

19. ktca'ukuł ("spliced trousers").

This encampment was near the present town of Balfour (?) on Kootenay lake. It was used as a temporary base during May and June.

20. na·x̣spoá'lk'en ("rocky bank made by spoá'lk'en [mythological character]").

On the west shore of upper Kootenay lake, exact location uncertain. Temporary camp.

21. sia'uks qa·l'su ("where the water flows outward" probably referring to the drainage of Trout lake into Kootenay lake).

This was a caribou hunting and fishing camp located at the lower end of Trout lake at the site of the present town of Gerrard. Drying racks for fish were erected here and travellers sometimes remained for several weeks.

22. snpotl'me·'p ("upper end of lake").

This encampment at the upper end of Trout lake was at the site of the present Trout Lake City. From here a portage usually was made to the end of Upper Arrow lake.

23. nk'umá'puluks ("end of the water").

This important camp was situated at the uppermost end of Upper Arrow lake near the site of the present town Compalix. It was a popular meeting place and a productive fishing, hunting, and berrying center. The camp was most populous in May and June.

24. skɑxi'kantɑn.

A settlement opposite Revelstoke. (T no. 1)

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25. kospi'tsa ("buffalo robe").
At the site of the present town of Arrowhead. (T no. 3)

26. kn'sxana'ka.
On Upper Arrow lake, now called Kooskanax. (T no. 4)

27. nequ'sp ("having buffalo").
Now called Nakusp. (T no. 5)

28. tci'uken.
A little below Nakusp. (T no. 6)

29. snexai'tsatsam.
Near the upper end of Lower Arrow lake, opposite Burton City. (T no. 7)

30. xaie'kan.
At a creek below Burton City. (T no. 8)

31. mamatsi'ntan ("log leaning outside a cave").
A village on Lower Arrow lake, exact location uncertain. It was a center for hunting mountain goat in March and April.

32. plu'me'.
This was a temporary camp on the east side of Lower Arrow lake near the site of the present Deer Park. It marked the lower end of the hunting and fishing territory.

33. sm·a'ip' ("large log leaning against a tree").
A temporary camping place at the foot of Lower Arrow lake.

34. A settlement at the site of the present town of Castlegar, near the fork of the Kootenay river and Lower Arrow lake, was important for both spear and line fishing. There was a rapids here, which aided the fisherman.

35. sketu'kalôx.
On lower Slocan river. (T no. 17)

36. nkwcio'xtan.
On Slocan river above no. 35. (T no. 16)

37. ka·ntca·'k.
On Slocan river below the lake. (T no. 15)

38. sihwi·'lax.
On the lower part of Slocan lake. (T no. 14)

39. takalaxaitcakst ("trout ascend"?)
On Slocan lake, below no. 40. (T no. 13)

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40. snkami'p ("base, root, or bottom").
At upper end of Slocan lake. (T no. 12)

41. nəmi·'maltam.
On Caribou lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow lakes. (T no. 20)

42. stəxtɬu'stəm ("first in line," "leader").
This was a small settlement at the present town of Malo, Washington, about four miles northeast of Curlew lake. It was a permanent camp where trapping, hunting, and trap fishing were possible.

43. skwa'rəxəm ("crane").
This was reputedly a Lakes settlement at the present site of Addy, Washington. (E)

KALISPEL VILLAGES

1. clkudl'tcu' ("sweat house on bank"?).
This winter village, located on the Clark Fork river opposite the present town of Locke, was one of the largest of the Kalispel, numbering 400 or 500 persons.

2. stsu'qulu'.
This settlement was situated on the east side of Clark Fork river opposite the mouth of Tacoma creek, three miles north of the present Cusick. It was a winter village of 300 or 400 persons. Wood was easily obtained here and game was plentiful in the nearby mountains.

[622] A chief always was resident either here or at the preceding village.

3. skum'x̣'u.
The mouth of Tacoma creek was the site of this summer fishing village. A weir with a funnel trap was maintained here for taking trout, suckers and other small fish. Population, 100 or more.

4. st'lkam'tsi'.
This village, the largest of the Kalispel, was located at the mouth of the Calispel river near Cusick. It was a permanent village but most populous in summer at which time 1,000 persons often gathered, attracted by the communal distribution of the catch at the large fish trap. A chief always was located here.

5. ntcm'kanə" ("outlet of lake").
The outlet of Calispel lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement of six to twelve families.

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6. nye·'yot.

A village at the place now called Indian creek on the Clark Fork river about nine miles below Newport. (T, p. 313) 103

7. st'sa·'xolª ("gravelly place").

This was a permanent village located on the north side of Clark Fork river at the site of the present town of Furport. Population, fifty persons.

8. sxwe'uwi" ("portage around the falls").

This was a fall fishing grounds and a winter hunting base located where Albany Falls, Idaho, is now found. Population, approximately fifty.

9. tci'iu" (refers to face paint).

This winter village was located on Clark Fork river just above the mouth of Priest river. Excellent fishing and hunting was available nearby. From here a trail led to Priest lake where beaver and martin were plentiful. Winter population, 100 or more; summer, a few families.

10. sn·'k'ulti·'n ("ford").

Both sides of Clark Fork river at the present site of Laclede was the location of this village. It was a fishing and trapping center occupied by about fifty persons throughout the year.

11. qapqape' ("sand").

A village near the present town of Sand Point. (T, p. 313)

12. n·tcamutsi' ("mouth of many streams").

The mouth of Clark Fork river at Pend Oreille lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement noted for its fishing grounds. The islands nearby were used as burial grounds. Population, 300-400.

13. m·ce'dncem ("rocky stream").

This winter village was located on the Thompson river about three miles above the mouth. Summer residents of village no. 10 often wintered at this location. Population, 300-400.

14. tca·luqwe'ul ("meadow or small prairie").

This was the easternmost Kalispel village, located at the site of the present town of Paradise, Montana. It was popular as a winter residence on account of the very slight snowfall. Population, 100 or more.

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COEUR D'ALENE VILLAGES

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1. sqwatu·'tume ("small sharp-peaked mountain").

   This village, located at the site now called Cataldo, Idaho, was the uppermost Coeur d'Alene village on the Coeur d'Alene river. It was occupied throughout the year by 100 or more people, including the principal chief.

   Cataldo, the present town, was named for Father Cataldo but the Cataldo mission, established in 1853, was about fourteen miles northwest of here.

2. nalstqā'txwən.

   Located a little below no. 1. (T no. 10, Coeur d'Alene river division, p. 39)

3. səncā'ləmānts.

   A short distance below no. 2. (T no. 9, *idem*)

4. nsɛ·lut'.

   This year round settlement of about 40 people was situated at Old Mission near Roselake.

5. A small camp of perhaps fifteen persons was located on the Coeur d'Alene river at the present site of Lane. The native name was not remembered by my informant.

6. səma'qwəq'ən ("a small mountain on top of another").

   This camp of about fifteen persons occupied a site on the Coeur d'Alene river now called Medimont.

7. qoqole'tēlps ("black pines").

   A little above no. 8. (T no. 6, *idem*)

8. nəst'à·'kwə'st.

   This camp was located on the Coeur d'Alene river at Blue Lake (about a mile and a half below Medimont). It was very small, numbering two or three families or perhaps fifteen individuals.

9. dɛ'ltalpˢ ("a large clump of cottonwoods").

   Midway between Medimont and Harrison, on the Coeur d'Alene river, was located this camp of about twenty-five people.

10. nɛ'atxa'xstəm.

    A settlement a little above Harrison. (T no. 4, *idem*)

11. ălkwa"ɣɪ"ɪt.

    This village occupied the site of the present town of Harrison on the Coeur d'Alene river. It was a center of considerable importance, occupied the year around by about sixty persons.

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12. gwa'lit.
Near the lakes and close to Harrison. (T no. 2, *idem*)

13. tcin'tcalx^{w}.
On Coeur d'Alene lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alene river. (T no. 1, *idem*)

14. toēti'ctacacaq.
A settlement near the mouth of the St. Joe river. (T no. 2, p. 38)

15. tcami"was ("narrow peninsula between lake and river").
This camp, on the St. Joe river near the present site of Chatcolet, was occupied all year by about thirty people.

16. stcicá'tat ("creek enters river").
This was an all year settlement on the south side of the river about one mile above Chatcolet. The population ranged around forty persons.

17. stclalıdcake·tan ("precipitous stream enters the river").
This was a one family camp on the St. Joe river near Benewah lake (about two miles above no. 16). It was occupied throughout the year.

18. st'u'tsta'wa's'.
This large village was situated about a mile upriver from no. 17. It had a permanent population of about 100 persons, including the principal chief of the St. Joe river villages.

19. tcat'owa'calqs (T no. 4, p. 38)
This village occupied a site on the St. Joe river about two and one-half miles above no. 18. About sixty persons made this their home.

20. ntcámtsan ("confluence").
At the site now occupied by the town of St. Maries (the confluence of the St. Maries and the St. Joe rivers) was located this village. It was the furthest upriver village and thus an important base for hunting parties. About eighty persons lived here.

21. ni'luxwa'l'q^{w} ("spring in the timber").
This was a summer settlement of great importance in the open wooded country about a mile south of Desmet, Idaho, near the St. Joe forest. It was most populous during June and July at which time most of the Coeur d'Alene peoples gathered here for digging roots, particularly camas. The "first roots" ceremony was held here. Visitors from Spokane, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Yakima were numerous. A few persons remained here all winter.

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22. nɬpo'tsəntsən.
A summer camp where Tekoa, Washington, is now located. (T, p. 38)

23. tcêlä'tcəlitcəmən.
Half way down Coeur d'Alene lake on the east side. (T no. 2, Coeur d'Alene lake and Spokane river division, p. 39)

24. xant'a·"qan' (refers to Hayden lake).
This was the principal village of the upper Coeur d'Alenes and the home of their chief. It was situated on the north side of Hayden lake at the site of the present town of Hayden Lake. The permanent population was about 100 persons.

25. ntc'amki'nkwɪ' ("where the lake becomes a river").
This settlement, located where the town of Coeur d'Alene is now found, was larger than no. 24 by perhaps twenty persons, making it the largest of the Coeur d'Alene villages. It was, however, subject to the chief of the preceding village (24), though it had a "head man" in charge of strictly local affairs. This was a permanent settlement.

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26. smələle'na.
Near no. 25, on the same side. (T no. 4, Spokane river division, p. 39)

27. tp'o·'ənê'ɬpəm.
Very near the no. 26, on the same side. (T no. 5, *idem*)

28. nca·'rapt.
A little below no. 26. (T no. 5, *idem*)

29. stcatkwe'i.
A little below no. 28. (T no. 7, *idem*)

30. q'ami·lm ("water falling into a mouth [pothole]").
A small camp, numbering perhaps fifteen people, at Post Falls on the Spokane river.

31. ntsaqe'ɬpanc ("fir on the banks").
This was a large permanent village situated on the Spokane river about a mile above the place now called Spokane Bridge, Washington. It was the furthest downriver camp of the Coeur d'Alene.

32. mu·'lc ("cottonwood").
This camp of thirty people was to be found near the swamp at the south end of Liberty lake.

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33. tcana:'kwaqan ("two inlets at an angle")

A camp about two miles south of no. 32. Two or three families lived here.

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34. A one family camp was situated just east of no. 33. My informant had forgotten its name.

LOWER SPOKANE VILLAGES

1. tcuwi'cast.

This was a small winter camp of three or four families located on the east side of the Columbia river just below the mouth of Hunters creek. This creek enters the Columbia at the present town of Hunters.

2. sə'ədlə'kwetən ("where the trail meets the Columbia river").

This village of a few families was located on the east side of the Columbia river at the present village of Gerome.

3. snəka'lt ("rapids").

A site on the Columbia river just north of the mouth of the Spokane river (n·ka·'tkx^{w}) was the location of this village. It gave its name to the Lower Spokane though it was not the principal village of the group, but a settlement of medium size consisting of three or four large houses and several smaller ones.

4. tc'da"q'a.

This was a populous village situated directly across the Spokane river from no. 3, where the town of Miles is now found. (E)

5. npia'xam ("many hawks in the cliffs").

This camp was located at the confluence of the Columbia river and Hawk creek, the site now called Peach. It varied considerably in population from time to time, but never numbered more than a few lodges.

6. spə'xst ("river foam forming in eddies").

This settlement, on the north side of the Spokane river about a mile and a half below Detillion bridge (on state highway no. 22 across the Spokane river) was occupied in winter only.

7. di'a'lak'ən ("where a spring enters the river").

This was the largest camp of the Lower Spokane. It was admirably situated on the broad level bench above the north bank of the Spokane river about a mile below Detillion bridge. This site was near the river providing a readily accessible water supply and canoe landing, yet was high enough above the water level to be well drained

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and safe from flood waters. Immediately back of the village rose a range of hills which effectively protected the site from excessive winds. The river at this point was of such a character that a highly successful salmon weir-trap could be maintained throughout the salmon season, providing an abundant supply of salmon both for current consumption and drying for storage.

Visitors were numerous from all nearby points but also came in considerable numbers from such relatively distant points as the Nez Percé country. The village was most populous in summer but numbered many scores throughout the winter.

8. keyɛ'me'us.

This camp was located on the north side of the Spokane river at the present site of Detillion bridge.

9. ayasi'kən.

This was a small year round camp at a tiny lake near Detillion bridge.

MIDDLE SPOKANE VILLAGES

10. łaámə'kənɛ'seən ("head of the rapids where the water flows over").

This was a large winter camp on the north side of the river at the rapids four miles above village no. 9.

11. tcelmedl'mɛ'dlmən (probably refers to the salmon trap at this point).

This settlement, noted particularly for its salmon trap, was on the north side of the Spokane river four miles below the present Little Falls. The salmon trap attracted many people in the summer but a smaller number stayed throughout the year.

12. stca'tsuwɛca ("camping ground").

This summer camp was at the site of the present village of Wellpinit. (E) (The name Wellpinit is an adaptation of a Sahaptin word. A number of Sahaptin speaking peoples are now (1936) resident on Spokane Indian Reservation of which the headquarters are located at Wellpinit.)

13. sqàsi'łni ("fishers" from stqsqaistsɑłən, "fishery," Little Falls [E]).

This village, which gave its name to the Middle Spokane, was located on the north side of the Spokane river at the falls now known as Little Falls. This was the principal village of the Middle Spokane and the most populous. The location was an excellent one, similar in physical characteristics to the main village of the Lower Spokane. In addition the falls provided excellent spear and trap fishing for salmon.

A glacial terminal moraine formed the soil on which this village

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was situated. The typical terminal moraine mounds, so apt to be misinterpreted when near an Indian village, are still to be seen.

14. tc'əmqe'n.

This settlement was located on the Chamokane river where Ford, Washington, is now found.

15. apɬpu'pstən· ("where pu'pstən [a grass] grows").

This settlement of three or four families was on the north side of the Spokane river about two miles east of the mouth of Chamokane creek, or perhaps seven miles below Tumtum. It was occupied during the winter only.

16. tcu'mɑts'i (refers to the creek entering the river at this point).

This was the uppermost Middle Spokane village on the Spokane river. It was situated just above Tumtum on the north side of the river. It was an important fall hunting base and also a fall salmon spearing site. Occupation of the village continued from early autumn until spring.

UPPER SPOKANE VILLAGES

17. nsɑp'ta'us.

This was a small fall and winter camp, noted principally as a fall salmon spearing station. It was located on the south side of the Spokane river about three miles below the mouth of the Little Spokane river.

18. tcɛ·nu'yulc.

This was another small fall and winter camp with lodges on both sides of the Spokane river about one mile below the mouth of the Little Spokane. It served as a base for hunting fowl and deer.

19. n·tcmɑtsi'n.

This important village occupied the north bank of the Spokane river at the mouth of the Little Spokane river (nxwəmə'a'tkx^{w}, "river where the steelhead trout run").

20. nxwəmɑ'ne ("steelhead trout place")

This village was not only the largest of the Upper Spokane but of the whole river. It spread over considerable territory on the south side of the Spokane river with a center about a half mile above the mouth of the Little Spokane. It was a prominent meeting place and trading and gambling center. Also it served as a salmon spearing grounds, salmon trap site, line fishing site for trout, and deer hunting and berry gathering base. In recent times about 300 tipis were pitched here during the winter. In addition, a number of single family camps were located nearby.

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21. tcɑ̀ltcɑ́mu'làxˢ ("where a creek skirts the foot of a cliff").

About eight miles up the Little Spokane river, near the mouth of Deadman creek, was located this camp, noted as a hunting and fishing grounds. The settlement was a permanent one but numbered only a few families.

22. ntcɑ̀tcɑ́ɑ́'nts'in ("where the creek enters the river").

This village, on the Little Spokane river near the present town of Buckeye, was a winter settlement of four or five dwellings.

23. sua'tsɨxˢ (refers to a nest.)

This was a small autumn fishing camp and winter settlement between villages nos. 22 and 24, exact location uncertain.

24. stiuwa'tɨxˢ ("where stiua'tɨ [a mythological bird] nested").

This was a permanent camp of medium size situated at a site about two miles north of the Spokane river where the outskirts of Spokane now lie. Little snow accumulated here, making it a popular wintering place. Recently it came to be valued as an excellent grazing place for horses.

25. sqlaxa'ɬkˢ (refers to falls in the river).

This large permanent village was located on both sides of the Spokane river at the falls, now the center of the city of Spokane. The falls were excellent for spear and basket trap fishing, especially since they were too high for the salmon to ascend.

26. sɑ̀mna'tculks ("place where many crows are found").

This was a site just south of what is now Hillyard, Washington, on the north side of the Spokane river. It was a village of medium size noted for fishing, hunting and grazing. Occupation was during fall and winter only.

27. sqɑ̀mi'n'.

This was a small winter camp at the point where the railroad bridge now crosses the Spokane river north of Dishman. The camp occupied the north side of the river.

28. qu'yu ("place where Oregon grape [Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh.] grows").

This village was situated on Latah (Hangman) creek about a mile above the point where the highway bridge now crosses the creek. It was a populous permanent settlement valued as a salmon and trout fishing grounds and for the abundant game, including deer, antelope and beaver, which the surrounding territory provided.

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29. tcalsi'yutsu·m ("place where many woodpeckers are found").
This camp, located on Latah creek near the mouth of Rock creek, about ten miles above village no. 28, was similar in size and utilities to the latter. In the winter it was used as a base for large deer drives.

NESPELEM VILLAGES[46]

1. nəkuktc'i'ptn ("big basin"?) home of the snəkuktc'i'ptnux^{w}.
This was a summer settlement located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was not an exclusively Nespelem village since much of its population was made up of Southern Okanogan whose winter residence was ka·yta·' (no. 24) or elsewhere. Population, 100-150.

2. nspi·'ləm (Nespelem) ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'lux^{w}.
This permanent settlement, the largest of the Nespelem, was situated on the lower Nespelem river from the mouth to the falls about three-quarters of a mile above. Population, 200.

3. xaimi 'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·lux^{w}.
Located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river. Population, 100.

4. salqua'xuwi? ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'lau.
This site was across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a semi-permanent settlement numbering perhaps 150 in winter.

5. ski'x^{w}, home of the ski'x^{w}.
This winter camp was about a mile above village no. 4. Population, 40-50.

6. məsməsa'lmx^{w}, home of the smesmesa'lmxuwa'.
A winter camp approximately a mile and a half above village no. 5.

7. sk'ləm'tcn ("passing the coulee"?), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'lau.
Opposite the mouth of Grand Coulee, at the site of the dam. Population, 40-50.

SANPOIL VILLAGES[46]

8. nkoxo'i'tq^{w} ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'lux^{w}.
Located about half way between villages nos. 7 and 11. Population, 20-30.

[46]Condensed from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," 15-21.

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9. wal'walà'skɯn ("solid rocks"), home of the swal'walà'skɯnxᵘ.
A winter camp situated a half mile upriver from village no. 8. Population, 20-30.

10. ts'aktsʔ'kskɯn ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'lɯxᵘ.
This camp of ten or fifteen persons was located about a half mile below village no. 11.

11. na'a'qᵘ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'aqau.
A permanent settlement located on the north side of the river about a mile below Plum. Population, 40-50.

12. x̣ax̣sula'uxᵘ ("level ground"), home of the sx̣ax̣sula'uxuwa.
A winter settlement located near Plum. Population, 20.

13. kalpusp'u'stən ("place where rye grass grows"), home of the kalpus p'u'stənaxᵘ.
This winter village occupied a site on the north bank of the river about a mile above Plum. Population 40-50.

14. sa'a·mlkᵘ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mlkᵘ.
A permanent settlement opposite no. 13. Population, 100.

15. npui·'lɯxᵘ ("gray as far as one can see"), home of the snpui·'lɯxᵘ. The name Sanpoil is a corruption of the latter term.
This was the principal village of the Sanpoil, located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. Actually this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up the river for a half mile or more. The names of these camps follow, beginning at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continuing upriver: (a) snkelkuqwli'sxanan ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"); (b) qeltsətci'n ("cliff propped up"); (c) qetapkunu'laxᵘ ("knoll"); (d) qaqa·'mqam; (e) a branch of the snkelkuqwli'sxanan (a); (f) snpu·'tɯm ("emerging from the brush"); (g) sk'ɛxwi'lxu ("cave in the rocks"); and (h) snluq'ä'lukᵘ ("wide, bushy place").
Total population in summer, 400; winter, 75-100.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lstᵘ.
This, the largest winter village of the Sanpoil, was located on the Columbia river at Whitestone, about eight miles above the mouth of the Sanpoil river. Population, 300.

17. nx̣ax̣oyu's ("deep eyes"), fishing grounds of the sxula'lstᵘ.
Located about two miles above no. 16. Population, 50.

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18. snukɑ'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snukɑ'iltkᵘ.
A permanent settlement on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. Population, 80.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones").
A winter camp about three miles above no. 18. Population, 25-30.

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass").
A winter camp about two miles above no. 20. Population, 25-30.

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunaxᵘ.
A winter village at Roger's Bar, opposite Hunters, Washington. Population, 150.

Following is a list of temporary camps along the Sanpoil river.[40] The list begins with the lowermost camp and proceeds upriver. These are not shown on the map.

A. ənluxu'la'xᵘ ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.

B. ksi'k'əst ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.

C. ăqla·'iyuk ("place where a·'iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi'k'əst (B).

D. snxloɑ'pətɑ·'n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

E. p'u·'pəstən ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller.

F. nmxo·'yăm ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller.

G. nxwi'i'pəm ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.

H. sə'ă'ă'tcəst ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.

I. ătcxulăki'pástəm ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.

J. nloqloqəkue'lixtən ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cache creek. Hunting base.

K. nxɑt'lfɑni'tkᵘ ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cache creek. Hunting camp.

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L. sntxulu'stən ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cache creek. Served as a hunting base.

M. ʷlu·'piam ("birch"), a mile and a half above sntxulu'stən (L), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.

N. slâkumu'ləmxᵘ ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·'piam (M). Hunting base and root gathering camp.

O. nxlakatc'i'n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.

P. ma'lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.

Q. luxluxxu'm ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above luxluxxu'm (Q) may or may not have been used as camp sites.

R. aqlqəuxwi'ɬpᵘ ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.

S. tx̣wi'i'p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.

T. kli'i'pus ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

SOUTHERN OKANOGAN VILLAGES[46] [47]

22. t'kuya·'tum, home of the stkuya·'t.

Situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above Brewster. Population, 100.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən.

Located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Population 20-25 in the winter; many more in summer.

24. ka·yta·'.

A winter village situated near Goose lake at the site of the present Kartaro.

COLVILLE VILLAGES[46]

25. ntcali·"am ("hits the river") home of the sntcali·"xᵘ.

A permanent village located about a mile above the present Inchelium. Population, 150.

26. nqua'si'am ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si'xᵘ.

Located slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Population, 50.

[47]Incomplete; see footnote 34.

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27. qəqəla'pia ("water logged"), home of the sqəqəla'piax^{s}.
Opposite the present town of Harvey. Population, 25-30.

28. nilami'n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami'nax^{s}.
Located about fifteen miles above no. 27. Population, 75.

29. ntcunu'tastum, home of the sntcunu'tast^{s}.
Near Kettle Falls, six miles above no. 28. Population, 25-30.

30. qəluma"ax^{s} ("level land"), home of the sqəluma"ax^{s}.
Opposite Kettle Falls. Population, 25-30.

31. smətcunu'lau, home of the smətcunu'laux^{s}.
Situated at the site of the state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population in winter, 10; in summer, large numbers.

CHELAN VILLAGES

1. ntiá'tk^{s} ("weedy river").
This was a winter village located at the mouth of the Entiat river where the town of the same name now stands. It was occupied jointly by Chelan and Wenatchi peoples (see Wenatchi village no. 5).
The Entiat river served as a fishing stream but was not of great importance because of its small size.
The last chief of this village was named taxas'q'e'n, "bald mountain."
Population, 100 or more.

2. ni'yà'lqən ("basin in which creek meanders").
This village of a few families was located at the mouth of Maple creek, just above the town called Winesap.

3. yəmmusi'tsà ("rainbow robe").
This village was located at the lower end of Lake Chelan. It was the largest winter encampment of the Chelan with a population of about 100. This was an important goat hunting base but for salmon fishing the residents migrated to the Wenatchee river. The precipitous drop from the lake to the Columbia river prevented any salmon from ascending.

4. xəntci·'n ("little rocky gate") in the spà'tlmulux ("bitter root grounds") valley.
This village was on the south side of the Methow river just south of the present town of Pateros. It was the home of a "renegade band" of Chelan numbering fifty or 100. Formerly this was

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doubtless the site of a Methow (mɑ'txo, "land of sunflower seeds") village, but was left unoccupied with the early rapid dwindling of that people.

WENATCHI VILLAGES

1. tapi'skn.

This was a permanent village numbering about fifty persons, located opposite the mouth of Moses Coulee near the mouth of Colocham creek.

2. skɑkɑtɕ'n.

This large permanent village was on the Columbia river about seven miles below the present town of Wenatchee, at Stemilt creek. The population was in excess of 300.[48]

3. skwɑetaktɕ'n.

The mouth of Squillchuck creek, a mile or two below Wenatchee on the west side of the Columbia river, was the site of this village. It was one of the largest permanent villages of the Wenatchi, numbering about 400 people.

4. pɑt'l'knu'lu.

This was a one family camp on the west side of the Columbia river at Zena, eight miles north of the mouth of the Wenatchee river.

5. ntiá'tkᵘ ("weedy river").

This village, at the present site of Entiat, was jointly occupied with the Chelan (see Chelan village no. 1). The Wenatchi population was perhaps forty.

6. alota's.

About one-half mile below Monitor, on the north side of the Wenatchee river, was located this village. The permanent population numbered about 200.

7. ntua'tckɑm.

The mouth of Mission creek, where Cashmere is now located, was the site of this village. The population was about 400 making it one of the largest of Wenatchi villages. It was a permanent village but most populous during the winter.

8. tcɑma·us ("narrow in the middle").

This village was situated at the mouth of Icicle creek about a mile south of the present town of Leavenworth. It was the princi-

[48]The population estimates here may be somewhat high but the ratios are probably reliable.

103 pal salmon fishing grounds of the Wenatchi. About 200 persons remained here throughout the summer but at the height of the salmon fishing season the population swelled to as much as 2,000 or 3,000 including visitors from both near and far. Large salmon drying racks were maintained here for the use of all.

9. tcɨwa'x.

The confluence of Chiwawa creek and the Wenatchee river was the site of this important fishing village. The salmon trap was located at skwatxwa'l, nearby.

COLUMBIA VILLAGES[47]

1. kawa'xtcɨn ("living on the banks").

The mouth of Rock Island creek, at the Columbia river, was the site of this important village.

"Half Moon" was the last chief of this group.

2. nqwalqwalmi'n ("roasting place").

This village was located on the Columbia river where a small creek enters just north of Vantage. Though smaller than village no. 1, this was popular in winter because the site was unusually free of snow.

KITTITAS VILLAGES

1. á'tca ("coming out").

A village on the east side of the Yakima river just below Thrall, Washington.

2. k'ɨ'tás ("something hard").

This village was located about two miles below the present town of Ellensburg on the west side of the Yakima river. It was most populous in summer, numbering between 300 and 400 persons.[48]

3. yumi'c.

This winter village was situated about four miles below the present town of Thorp, on the east side of the Yakima river. It was a large village with a population of about 400.

4. kla'a.

About one mile above Thorp, opposite the mouth of Taneum creek, was located this village. It was a permanent settlement with a population of about 500, the largest of the Kittitas villages.

5. ti'plas.

The mouth of Swauk creek, near the present place called Dudley, was the site of this village. Its permanent population ranged around fifty.

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6. tiá'nawɑns.

This permanent village was located near the mouth of Teanaway creek. Its members used the Swauk creek and the Mountain Home hunting territories. The abundant game in the latter region attracted others during the fall. The permanent population was about fifty.

7. ta'txanɑxca.

John Hill, on the south side of the Yakima river about four miles below Cle Elum, was the site of this village. Population, 50-60.

8. tlɑ'lam (Cle Elum).

This important summer camp occupied a site at the south end of Cle Elum lake where the river flows out. A huge salmon trap was maintained here, attracting as many as 1,000 persons during June and July. A smaller number remained throughout the summer.

9. ná'nam.

This large permanent village was situated on Naneum creek about seven miles northeast of Ellensburg, Washington. Population, about 400.

10. n'tsɑmtsɑ'mtcɑn (Salish word) ("grasshopper creek").

11. tc'la'xan (Salish word) ("standing at the side of your arm").

These two villages were located very near each other at the present site of Kittitas. They were important for the surrounding root digging grounds. They were well populated in May and June.

YAKIMA VILLAGES

1. k'u'sɑs ("two rivers meet" [Columbia and Snake]).

This large and important village was located where Pasco, Washington, now stands. Though claimed by the Yakima its population included many Walula and some Umatilla. Visitors were numerous since it was an important trading center. Also, it was a valuable site for fishing and taking eels. The settlement was occupied throughout the year.

2. tana'xalu ("throw rocks at fish").

This was a large permanent village on the Columbia river opposite the present town of Richland. It was noted especially as a fishing site.

3. A small village of twelve to sixteen lodges was located on both sides of the Yakima river where Kiona is now found.

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4. ta·'ptat (a style of hairdress, "long hair in front, short hair on the sides").

   Both sides of the Yakima river, where Prosser is now located, was the site of this important village. Scouts were placed here.

5. tsi·wà·'la ("fresh water clams").

   This was a large permanent settlement on the south side of the Yakima river just below Mabton. It was an important trading point, especially for dried fresh water clams.

6. ts'a'kit.

   This was a small settlement on the south side of the Yakima river about two miles below the mouth of Satus creek.

7. ici·'tc ("nest").

   The mouth of Satus creek was the site of this large permanent settlement, second of all Yakima villages in size. It was a center for both summer and winter festivities, attracting large numbers of visitors. This village was of such a size that several chiefs were required.

8. pała·xi" ("hoofs").

   This was a small camp located on the south side of the Yakima river just below the present village of Alfalfa.

9. p'sko ("food that tastes queer").

   This small village was situated just above Alfalfa.

10. wa'łała.

    A small camp about one-half mile above no. 9.

11. wapa'i ("water grass").

    This small settlement, located opposite the present town of Boone, was noted for the grass used in weaving which grew in the vicinity.

12. taluima·'s ("fishing point").

    This was a small winter village located opposite the present town of Zillah and a short distance below. It was noted for winter fishing.

13. si".

    This was a large village opposite Zillah.

14. lut'sàni" ("tree with white berries").

    A large village located a short distance above no. 13.

15. x̣actu" ("strong water").

    Located opposite the present Buena.

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16. awa'tam ("salmon jump" referring to the rapids).
On the south side of the Yakima river where the Sunnyside irrigation dam is now located.

17. pa'xotakyut ("hills together," Union Gap).
This was a large village extending for a mile or two along the Yakima river where Union Gap is now located. There was but one chief at this village.

18. tsi'kik ("spring").
This was the largest village of the Yakima. It was located at a spring about one mile north of Union Gap and a half-mile west of the river. The population here was perhaps 2,000.

19. ti'mani ("pictographs made by small boy").
The mouth of Naches river was the site of this large village.

20. wa'patuxs ("capital").
This village, at the site of the present town of Cowiche, was noted as a place where chiefs met together in council.

21. ta·'itan ("torch fishing")
This village, noted for night fishing and hunting, was located on the south side of Cowiche creek just above the present town of the same name.

22. tautunu'k ("medicine").
This was a small permanent village on upper Cowiche creek. It was near important hunting territory.

23. miya'wax ("chief").
This was a permanent village located on the upper Tieton river at the place now called Rimrock (Tieton dam). It was an important center for hunting, fishing and berry gathering.

24. xa'tk'apca ("ground which is loose").
This settlement was on Atanum creek above the mouth a short distance.

25. a'tanam ("creek going down").
This village was on the north side of Atanum creek directly south of the present town of Wiley. It was a large, rich settlement occupied throughout the year. Many visitors from distant points were to be found here.

26. ta'mtiko ("let's go to village below").
Located on Atanum creek directly south of the present Tampico.

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27. ts'a'pas ("thin morning fog").
On the headwaters of the south fork of Atanum creek.

28. tsumkwi".
At the head of Simcoe creek near Saddleback ridge.

29. mu'lmul ("water spurting out").
This village was located at what is now Fort Simcoe. A large spring here was of great value. The village was permanently occupied and quite populous.

30. nikâ's ("large meadow").
This camp, located a short distance east of the present White Swan, was particularly valued as a grazing grounds for horses, and a place of safekeeping out of the reach of raiding parties. Horses could be left here or taken away only by permission of the chief. Only the horse guards stayed here permanently.

31. cxuwi·'ac ("meadow where fawns appear" ?)
This camp was located on Toppenish creek about seven miles below no. 30.

32. cicu" ("bad smelling water").
On Toppenish creek about two miles below no. 31.

33. ca·'xu ("rock slide").
A camp on Toppenish creek about six miles above the mouth. From here a trail led over the Simcoe mountains.

34. txo'panc ("rain pouring out" ?).
This camp was located about four miles west of Granger. There was a spring here and the site was used for wintering horses.

35. xo'kyamkt ("burial grounds").
This village and burial grounds was located on Satus creek about six miles above the mouth.

36. xi·'ta'i ("many sharp pointed rocks").
This small camp was situated at the confluence of North creek and Satus creek. It was used as a temporary camp by travellers.

37. tlatla' ("forked tree").
A summer camp on the headwaters of North creek.

38. pa'wankwyud ("meeting place").
This was a large village with many chiefs, located on Satus creek near the mouth of Logy creek. Winter religious dances were held regularly here. Visitors from Wayampam were numerous.

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39. tamantcatani" ("basket trap").
This camp, located on Satus creek about two miles north of the summit of the mountains, was important as a root gathering base and for basket trap fishing.

40. txi·'una.
This was a scout camp at Satus pass.

41. wa·'xcam ("roots" used as food).
This root gathering camp was about five miles west of Satus pass.

42. lata'ma ("root roasting place").
This was a root gathering and hunting camp near the headwaters of Logy creek.

43. patkwa·'ip ("water coming down").
This was a permanent camp on the trail to the Wayampam and Umatilla territories, about half-way between Satus and Bickelton. One chief resided here.

44. ta'pacnakait ("end of the pine trees").
This was a permanent village and scout location where Bickleton is now situated. Many Wayampams and Umatillas were to be found here.

KLIKITAT VILLAGES

1. xla'tixat (Klikitat).
This was a permanent village located on the north side of the Columbia river at the rapids opposite the present town of Lyle. The population was perhaps 200. This was the only point where the Klikitat villages touched the Columbia.

2. la'uli pa·m" ("belonging to the la'uli people").
The confluence of White Salmon river and Jewett creek was the site of this village. It was the largest Klikitat settlement numbering about 500 persons throughout the year. It was also the home of the Klikitat chief, the last of whom was ta'uwita·kc.

3. nakipank.
A site adjacent to the falls in the White Salmon river, where the present town of Husum is found, was the location of this village. About 150 people lived here throughout the year.

4. xatxa'iwaca.
This was a winter village of about 200 persons located on the White Salmon river four miles above Husum.

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5. kawa'ukai.
   This was a summer camp situated where Snowden is now found. It was noted for the surrounding camas meadows. Population, about 100.

6. pa·'ɬx.
   This was another summer camas grounds, located between the present towns of Laurel and Glenwood. Many people camped here each summer including visitors from Yakima. The number ranged around 500.

7. ntcita'x.
   This summer camp was at Glenwood meadows. Population, 300-400.

8. ca'xcaxunmi' ("crane").
   This summer village, the largest of the Klikitat, was located at Trout lake. It was popular for trout fishing and berry picking.

9. lu'axam ("small burnt place").
   A summer camp at Dead Horse meadow, northwest of Guler.

10. tak"ta'k" ("little meadow").
    This was an important temporary camp at Peterson Prairie near the head of Lava creek. The summer population varied from perhaps 100 to 150.

11. tc'ikwa'c ("roughly rocky place").
    This was an important summer camp about six miles west of no. 10. A horse race track was located here.

12. kalama't ("race track").
    This camp and race track was located about two miles west of no. 11.

13. xali'a ("where wild sunflowers grow").
    A summer camp at Huckleberry mountain.

14. psauwaswa'kuł ("rough, rugged" ?).
    A summer camp at Sawtooth mountain.

15. łma'ma ("old woman," mythological reference).
    A summer camp at Lemei mountain.

16. wawaya'c ("mosquito site").
    A summer camp at Twin Buttes.

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17. kakyálmi' ("pertaining to the little bird").
A summer camp at Bird mountain.

WAYAMPAM VILLAGES

1. ti'naino
A village on the south side of the Columbia river nearly five miles above The Dalles, Oregon.[49]

2. si'lailo·.
At the present Celilo.[49]
This site is still well occupied but with a very much mixed population.

3. sk'i'n ("cradle").
This was an important Wayampam village located about one-half mile west of the present station called Wishram, on the north side of the Columbia a little above Celilo but on the opposite side.

4. wa'paixt ("where the water runs down").
At the present Wishram station on the north side of the Columbia.

UMATILLA VILLAGES[50]

1. i'matłam ("lots of rocks").
Both sides of the mouth of the Umatilla river were occupied by this important winter village. It was the center of an important berrying and root gathering territory as well as the site of salmon fishing operations. Trails led from here to the mountains where elk, antelope and deer were hunted. Also, grazing lands for horses were available and much horse breeding was done. In native words, "This was a good place to live."
Population, 500-600.

2. tuq'woye'pa ("tule place").
This was a spring and summer camp on the south side of the Columbia river between Umatilla and Cold Springs. Chokecherries, berries, kause and other roots were gathered nearby.

3. xu'lulupa ("rapids in the river").
This was a summer fishing camp on the north side of the Columbia river about three miles above the present Mottinger. Salmon were taken in nets and dried for winter use. Population, 20-30.

[49] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 169.
[50] Incomplete, see section VI.

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4. ama'ama'pa ("island").
   This was a stronghold on Blalock island (or those opposite Mottinger?) used as a place of security against raids by the Snake Indians who often attacked the Umatilla and carried off their horses. 103

5. tä·'ksasam ("elbow in the river").
   A temporary camp on the north side of the Columbia river near the present site of the village Roosevelt.

6. k'ami'p* ("opening through the canyon where light penetrates").
   This was a permanent village on the north side of the Columbia at the mouth of Rock creek. It was popular because wood was plentiful. The population was a hundred persons or more.
   This village marked the downriver boundary of the Umatilla.

WANAPAM VILLAGES[50]

1. p'mna".
   Located on the west side of the Columbia river at Priest Rapids.

2. ca'p'tlak.
   About two miles upriver from no. 1, on the same side. This camp is still occupied today. It now consists of two "long houses" of mats and one tipi type mat lodge. The population is perhaps forty.

3. waya·'nwe.
   About one mile north of no. 2, on the west side.

4. tamacak'uni'skuni.
   One mile north of no. 3, same side.

5. xa'txamtcanuwi'tac.
   One mile above no. 4, same side.

CAYUSE BANDS

1. kimi'lhicpu.
   The Butter creek band.

2. wdu·'npu.
   The Pilot Rock (Oregon) band.

3. ha'utmipu.
   The McKay creek band.

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4. nixya·'wipu.
   The band resident near nixya·'wi spring, near the present Cayuse, Oregon.

5. meqicnime'pu.
   The Gibbon-Umatilla river band.

6. qapqapi'tspu.
   This was the Cottonwood creek band of Cayuse.

7. pa'cxapu.
   This was the name given to the Cayuse people in the region of the Walla Walla river.

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